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The History of Paestum
in Antiquity

THE HISTORY OF PAESTUM
IN ANTIQUITY

BY

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- THE HISTORY OF PAESTUM IN ANTIQUITY -

I Name.

The names 'Posidonia' and 'Paestum' are those generally connected with this city, but we find on certain coins, in addition to the inscription $\Pi\omicron\varsigma$, the four letters $\Phi\omega$ (1). Various conjectures have been made concerning this latter form. Millingen (2) believes it stands for Phistelia which city might have been associated with Paestum in minting, just as were Siris and Pyxus. (3) Phistelia is, however, at some distance from Paestum in Campania near Cumae and its coin types have nothing in them suggestive of those of Paestum. (4) The legends on its coins moreover are in Oscan, as for example $\Sigma\omega\omega\tau\omega$ (retrograde), $\Psi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$, and $\omega\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$. (5) Also the Oscan form of the name is Fistelú. (6) This solution must therefore be discarded. Another interpretation is that these four letters might be the beginning of a second name for Posidonia. (7)

1. Eckhel, Doctrina Numorum Veterum (1792), 156-159; Mommsen, Geschichte des Röm. Münzwesens (1860), 154; Hill, Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins (1899), 49 & 51; id. Historical Greek Coins (1906) 115; Babelon, Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines 1, 2 (1907), 1434-1435; Head, Historia Numorum 2nd ed. (1911), 80-82
2. Millingen, Considérations sur la Numismatique de l' Ancienne Italie, 45
3. Babelon, op. cit. 1434
4. Babelon, l.c.
5. Eckhel, op. cit. 159; Head op. cit. 41
6. Von Planta, Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte 2 (1897), 683
7. Lenormant, A travers l'Apulie 2, 181

In case that is true, these coins are the only bilingual ones in Magna Graecia, but it does not seem probable that the settlers of Posidonia would have made so much advance over the native population, an instance not paralleled in any of the other colonies (1). Head (2) suggests that FIC is an abbreviation of the Oscan Fiisia which is cognate with the Latin festus or feriae. (3) The inscription would then be equivalent to POS... IERA and the coins would be festival coins such as were issued by many cities. The chief objection to this theory is that the Greeks would not be likely to adopt the Oscan word for festival. (4) Still another possibility (5) is that FIC designates the Is, or the god of the Is, which is a small river (now the Juncarella) flowing near Paestum and which is mentioned by Lycophron. (6) There might have been a locality of the same name on the outskirts of Paestum, at first associated with the larger city, and later absorbed by it. (7) On the other hand, it may refer to games held on the banks of the Is. (8) Kluge (9) thinks it improbable that a city should receive its name from a mere brook like the Is, ignoring the larger Silarus.

1. Babelon, op. cit. 1434

2. Head, op. cit. 81

3. Conway, The Italic Dialects (1897), 14; fiisnú the Oscan word for fanum - see Von Planta, l.c. - might also have some connection with FIC .

4. Head, l.c.

5. Babelon, l.c.

6. Lycophron, 724.

7. Babelon, l.c.

8. Head, l.c.

9. Kluge, Studien zur Topographie von Paestum, in Cl. Phil. 4(1909), 63.

Since there was but one main river in Lucania according to ancient topography, he concludes that the name $\phi\lambda\lambda\sigma$ if it belongs to a river, must mean the Silarus. Herodian (1) speaks of the Is as a $\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ which could not refer to the little stream, the Is, but to the Silarus. The old settlement of the city lay nearer the river than do the present remains. The river and city perhaps took the same name and when the inhabitants moved farther away from the river, the old name disappeared, remaining on only a few coins. The name of the river lived on in mythology. (2) It is not strange that the river and the city should have the same name for such is the case with Pyxus. (3) Other occurrences of the word Is are as the name of a city and a river near Babylon (4) and as the name of the founder of Sybaris. (5) The text is corrupt for the latter passage so perhaps the word should be expanded to $\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$; (6) although the first of these two references can have no bearing on the meaning of $\phi\lambda\lambda\sigma$, yet the second may have some connection, inasmuch as Paestum was probably an offshoot of Sybaris.

The majority of the coins which belong to the Greek period - before the city was captured by the Lucanians - are inscribed merely with the forms of 'Posidonia' such as $\Lambda\omicron\tau$, $\omicron\tau$ (retrograde), $\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma\Delta\alpha$, $\pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\Delta\omega$, $\pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\Delta\omega\text{N}\epsilon\alpha$, and $\pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\Delta\alpha\text{N}\iota\alpha$ (7).

1. Herodian, in Frag. Hist. Gr. 3, 641, 21

2. Kluge, l.c.

3. Strab., 6, 263

4. Herod. 1, 179

5. Strab., l.c.

6. Kluge, l.c.

7. Eckhel, op. cit. 156-157; Mommsen, op. cit. 154-156; Hill, Handbook, 115; id., Hist. Coins, 49 & 51; Babelon, op. cit. 1428-1433; Head, op. cit. 80-81, 84.

Poseidon was the national god of the Troezenians who were probably the first settlers of the colony (1) and from him the city took its name. (2) Troezen also was once called 'Posidonia' which fact may be an additional reason for the name being given to the colony.

'Posidonia' was the Greek name of the city; its Latin name was 'Paestum'. (3) Mazocchi and Magnoni believe that the latter appellation was derived from the Hebrew פִּשְׁתִּי which would give it the name of "flax-city". (4) They argue that there might have been a Phoenician factory in Paestum since the Phoenicians preceded the Greeks in the western basin of the Mediterranean. The name would then be an earlier one than the Greek name and a Latinization of a Phoenician word. We have no additional facts, however, with which to prove or refute this theory of the origin of the name.

The coins inscribed with the name 'Paestum' belong to the period which extends from about 300 B. C., on through the empire. The name appears in various forms with the Greek letters - ΠΑΙ, ΠΑΙΣ, ΠΑΙΣΤΑΝΟ, Π, and with Latin ones - PAES, PAE, PAIST. (5) It is doubtful whether any of these coins were minted before the city became a Roman colony, (6) so we cannot be certain whether the name changed when the Lucanians occupied the town or when it became Roman. (7)

1. Strab. 8, 373.

2. Strab. l.c.; 9, 397; Babelon, op. cit. 1427. The colony Neptunia is sometimes confused with 'Posidonia' but it is merely another name for Tarentum - Velleius 1, 15, 4; Mommsen, C. I. L. 10, p. 53.

3. Plin. N. H. 3, 71; Gellius 14, 64.

4. Apud Kluge, op. cit. 58

5. Eckhel, op. cit. 157-158; Mommsen, Münzwesen, 156 & 315; Head, op. cit. 82

6. Head, l.c.

7. Tzschucke, ed. Mela 3, 2 (1806), 416; Bunbury, Paestum, in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography 2 (1857), 513; and Nissen Italische Landeskunde 2, 2 (1883), 893 believe the name did not change until Posidonia became a Roman colony.

Some believe that the change was brought about by the Lucanians and was completed at the end of the fourth century, the old name being entirely suppressed. (1) By other authorities, however, Paestum is thought to be a Latin name corrupted from the Greek. (2) Popular etymology may have come into play and by simple metathesis have changed Ποσειδών or Πορίδων - which is the name of a promontory near Paestum to Πορίδων, then to Πορίστον and Πορίστον. The change from Πορίστον to Paestum would be similar, Keller thinks, to the transition from poen - (as in poena) to paen - (as in paenitet). (3) Another suggestion offered by Keller is that the Oscan word for sanctuary - since there was doubtless a temple to Poseidon on the promontory - pestlūm might have become *Pestom. This form would be equivalent to Paestum or Paistum, since open e was pronounced like ai.

1 Mommsen, C. I. L. 10, p. 52; Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 290; Forbiger, Handbuch der Alten Geographie von Europa 3 (1877), 508; Hirt, Der Poseidon-tempel in Paestum (1895), 5.
3. Keller, Der Name Paestum, in Archiv für Lat. Lex. & Gram. 14 (1906), 392; Saumaise, Plinianae Exercitationes in Solini Polyhistoria (1689), 47; Keller l.c.

II GEOGRAPHY

Paestum - 15° longitude and 40° 25' latitude-(1) is a city of southern Italy,(2) or Oenotria as this part of the peninsula was originally called. (3) It is one of the many Greek cities which give the name Magna Graecia to this southern region. (4) The city is located in the northern part of Lucania (5) which district extends south from the Silarus, the boundary line between it and Samnium, to the isthmus between Thurii and Laus. The territory of the Lucanians lies between the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas from the Silarus to Laus on one side and from Metapontum to Thurii on the other. (6) Posidonia, probably in the sense of the Posidonian ager, is mentioned as being the boundary between Lucania and Campania, (7) and also as the northern limit of ancient Italy. (8) Paestum is situated on the bay of the same name (9) which is enclosed by the promontories of Surrentum and Posidium.(10) We do not know whether Paestum in antiquity had any suburbs, although many statuettes and small busts have been found in the outskirts, to the south of the city wall. (11)

1. Kiepert. Formae Orbis Antiqui 19 (1901); Ptolemaeus 3,1,8 gives 40° 10' lat. and 40° long. According to his system latitude corresponds to the modern longitude and vice versa, the longitude being measured from Alexandria.
2. Herodian, Technici Reliquiae 1, 297, 36; Steph. Byz. 533
3. Sophocles, Triptolemus, in Frag. Soph. 2, 244; Strab. 6, 265; Pausanias 8,3,5, Steph. Byz. 486.
4. Eustath. Dion., in Geog. Gr. Min. 2, 361
5. Mela 2, 169; Scylax, in Geog. Gr. Min. 1. 19, 12; Lib. Colon. 209
6. Scylax, 1.c. Strabo, 6, 255; Plin. N. H. 3, 71.
7. Scymnus, in Geog. Gr. Min. 1, 1206, 245; Hirt, op. cit. 5.
8. Strab. 5, 209; Dion. Hal. 1, 73; 2, 1.
9. Aristox. 14, 632 a; Strab. 5, 251; Solin. 2, 22.
10. Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 824.
11. Bonucci, Scavi di Pesto, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1834), 50-51.

During the middle ages fear of the Saracens forced the inhabitants to take refuge at Mt. Cappaccio (1) or Albanella about seven miles away to the east. (2) At this place have been found a tombstone with a Roman inscription (3) and several tombs with frescoed walls, (4) belonging to the Greek period.

Fifty stadia - or nearly six miles-north of the city is the mouth of the Silarus river (5) now called the Sele, which rises at the border line between Lucania and Samnium, flows south then southwest, and unites with the Tanager (6). The Silarus is mentioned by several ancient authors (7) and its name is inscribed on a few coins of Posidonia. (8) It formed the northern boundary of ancient Italy. (9) At its mouth lay the port of Alburnus (10) and farther inland is a mountain of the same name (11) now called Mt. Alburno.

Two other rivers in the neighborhood of Paestum are the Is and the Salso. The first of these is the small stream now named the Juncarella (12) although Herodian calls it a large river. (13)

1. Nissen, op. cit. 2,2,894
2. Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 288; C.I.L. 10, 484
3. C.I.L., l.c.
4. Bonucci, op. cit. 51-52; Helbig, l.c.
5. Strab. 5, 252; Bunbury, op. cit. 512; Forbiger, l.c. Nissen, op. cit. 2,2,892; Kluge, op. cit. 59
6. Nissen, op. cit. 1, 334.
7. Lycophron 724; Lucilius 3, 14; Plin., N.H. 3,70; Lucan 2,4,426; Columella 10, 36; Mela 2,69
8. Cavellino, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1843), 5,6; Head, op. cit. 81
MEILA and POMESANATAM. Coins probably issued for a festival on the banks of the Silarus.
9. Strab. 5, 251
10. Lucilius, l.c. Verg. Georg. 3, 146; Vib. Sequester, in Geog. Lat. Min. 151; Servius, ad Georg. 3, 146; Nissen, op. cit. 2,2,892; Paully-Wissowa 1, 338; Kluge, op. cit. 59
11. Nissen, op. cit. 891; Paully-Wissowa l.c.
12. Babelon, op. cit. 1434
13. Herodian in Frag. H. Gr. 3,641,21.

It is mentioned also by Lycophron (1) and perhaps the inscription $\phi\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ on some of the coins refers to this river, (2) as has already been discussed. (3) The Salso, whose ancient name is not known, is the small stream which made Paestum unhealthy because of its stagnant water. It flows just outside the south wall of the city. (4)

Another spot of interest not far from Paestum is the island of Leucosia. (5) This is in the gulf of Paestum near the mainland just opposite the promontory (6) of Posidium (7), the modern name of which is Punta Licosia.

The Popillian road built in 132 B. C. connects the chief cities of Magna Graecia, but Paestum as well as Velia and Buxentum was not included among them. (8) Perhaps these three cities had ceased to be of importance at the time the road was built. A right branch of the Via Popillia, however, extends south from Surrentum through Paestum and Velia. (9)

1. Lycophron, 724

2. Babelon, l.c.

3. p. 2

4. Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Bonucci op. cit. 53.

5. Ovid Metam. 15, 708; Strab. 2, 123; Mela 2, 7, 13

6. Plin. op. cit. 3, 7, 13; Sil. Ital. 8, 578; Martian, Capella 6, 645.

7. Lycophron 723; Eustath; Dion. 2, 361

8. C.I.L. 1, 1551

9. Desjardins, La Table de Peutinger (1869), 232; Kiepert l.c.

III TOPOGRAPHY

The city of Paestum is surrounded by a wall from two and one-half to three miles in circumference. (1) The whole circuit of the wall can be made out from the remains and in some places it stands rather high. (2) At the angles at intervals along the wall are about a dozen towers (3) of different types - angular, circular, and semicircular. (4) The systematic laying out of the wall is the work of the sixth century B. C., but it is uncertain whether the towers were added later as supplements or built with the wall. (5) Traces of four gates can be found in the wall, one on each side of the town. (6) The one on the east side of the town is nearly perfect, having a high, regularly constructed arch. (7) This gate is called the Porta della Sirena because the keystone of its arch contains the relief of a Siren. The other three gates are the Porta di Mare on the west, the Porta Aurea on the north, and the Porta della Giustizia on the south. (8) One of the gates was modelled after the type of the ancient gates at Pompeii which belong to the second century, B. C. (9) thus proving that the Paestum gate, which must have been built a little later, is of Roman construction. Besides these four gates there are, southwest of the Porta di Mare on the shore, a number of postern gates of archaic character. (10)

1. Bunbury, op. cit. 513-514; Hirt. 5; Baedeker Unteritalien 15th ed. (1911), 192
2. Bunbury, l.c.
3. Bunbury, l.c.; Nissen, 2, 2, 892;
4. The Expedition of Koldwey and Puchstein in Arch. Anz. (1895), in Am. J. Arch. (1896) 294.
5. Nissen, l.c.
6. Bunbury, l.c.; Nissen, l.c.
7. Bunbury, l.c.; Hirt, l.c.; Baedeker, l.c.
8. Hosking, An Account of the Architectural and Sculptural Remains of Paestum in Archaeologia (1893), 89; Baedeker, l.c.
9. Mau-Kelsey, Pompeii - Its Life and Art (1902), 40 & 241.
10. The Expedition of Koldwey & Puchstein, l.c.

The four gates of the city are connected by the two principal streets. (1) The Cardo was the main street and extended north and south. (2) These streets have been uncovered and found perfectly paved with limestone. They are several feet above the ground floor of the temples. A large portico with Doric columns has been found near the temple of Neptune and the Basilica [and] the two arms of which probably formed two sides of the forum. (3)

The principal remains within the walls are those of the three Greek temples. (4) The greatest of these is the temple supposedly dedicated to Neptune (5) located near the south gate. (6) About one hundred yards from it and nearer the gate is the so-called Basilica. (7) The temple known as that of Ceres is not far from the north gate of the city. (8) All the temples of which there are now remains seem to have been located on the Cardo or just east of it. (9)

On the cross street and directly west of the Cardo between the temples of Ceres and Poseidon are the ruins of a small, but very interesting Doric-Corinthian temple, generally called the temple of Peace. (10)

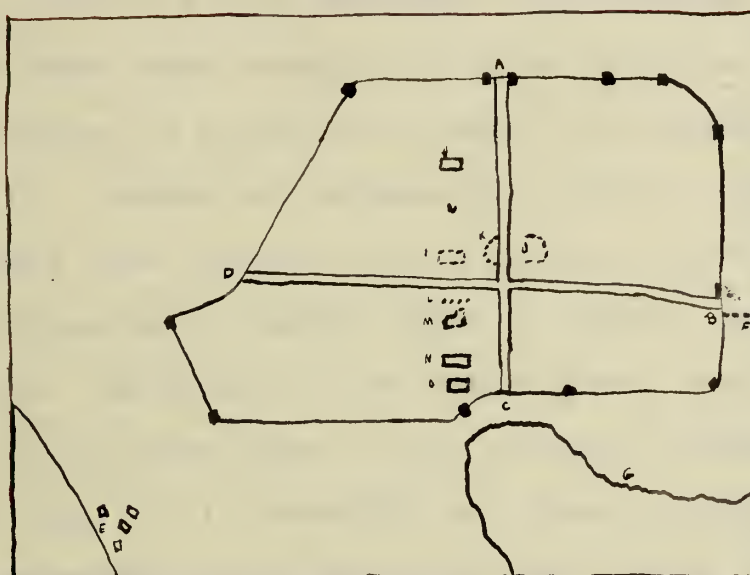
In addition to the temples there are numerous other remains both within and without Paestum. In the heart of the city east of the temple of Peace is an amphitheater of Roman date. (11)

1. Nissen, l.c.
2. Koldwey & Puchstein, Griechische Tempel in Unteritalien & Sicilien
3. Bonucci, op. cit. 50-51; Bunbury, op. cit. 514; (1899), 13.
Ruggiero, Degli Scavi di Ant. nelle Prov. (1878), 465; Baedeker, op. cit. 193; Paestum, in Am. J. Arch. (1908), 105
4. Nissen, l.c.; Hirt, l.c.; Warnecke, in Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, in Am. J. Arch.
5. Anderson & Spiers, The Architecture of Greece and Rome (1907), 35-37.
6. Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Hirt, op. cit. 7
7. Bunbury, l.c.; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 13
8. Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 18
9. Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 13, 10. Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 12 & 32; Hosking, op. cit. 85; Kluge, l.c.; Wolff, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1830), 136. Bunbury, l.c.; Baedeker, l.c.
11. Nissen, l.c.; Hirt, op. cit. 5; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 32; Bunbury, l.c.; Wolff, op. cit. 137; Baedeker, l.c.; Ruggiero, op. cit. 467

Not far from it is a semi-circular structure containing seats, doubtless a theater. To the south of the Temple of Peace is a row of columns which might once have formed part of the peribolos of a temple or of a stoa. A small building lies to the north of the temple not far from the temple of Ceres. Perhaps this was an aedicula in antis. These remains seem to occupy what was the center of the city in the Roman period. (1) A number of houses and other types of buildings have been unearthed which extend from the amphitheater to the district outside of the south gate. (2) East of the gate of the Siren are traces of an ancient aqueduct which runs east and west. (3) Before the north gate and towards the Silarus is one cemetery, (4) and south of the city on the left bank of the Salso in another. (5)

1. Koldwey & Puchstein, l.c.; Baedeker, op. cit. 192-193.
2. Bonucci, op. cit. 50; Bunbury l.c. ; Ruggiero, l.c.
3. Bunbury l.c.; Hirt, l.c.; Baedeker, l.c.
4. Nissen, op. cit. 2,2894; Baedeker, op. cit. 193
5. Bonucci, op. cit. 53.

THE PLAN OF PAESTUM



- A - Porta Aurea
- B - Porta della Sirena
- C - Porta della Giustizia
- D - Porta di Mare
- E - Postern gates
- F - Aqueduct
- G - Salso
- H - Temple of Ceres
- I - Temple of Peace
- J - Ampitheater
- K - Theater
- L - Stoa
- M - Portico
- N - Temple of Neptune
- O - Basilica

IV HISTORY

A-Founding.

Although a colony called Marcina was founded by the Etruscans and settled by Samnites between Paestum and the island of the Sirens, (1) we have no evidence of any settlement on the site of Paestum before the Greeks came there. (2) According to Solinus (3) it was a well known fact that Posidonia was colonized by the Dorians. Strabo, on the other hand, asserts that the Sybarites founded the colony and fortified it by the sea though the inhabitants moved farther back. (4) Scylax and Scymnus also report that Posidonia was said to have been first settled by the people of Sybaris. (5) A passage from Aristotle (6) throws light on the two seemingly conflicting reports. He tells how the Troezenians, Doric settlers in Sybaris, were driven from there by the incoming Achaeans and forced to find a new home. It is probable that these expelled Troezenians comprised the majority of the Sybarites who founded Posidonia and who would thus account for the Doric origin of the city. (7) The Doric forms of the name of the place ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑ, ΠΟΜΕΣΔΑΝΣΑΤΑΜ appearing on the coins (8) strengthen this conjecture.

1. Strab. 5, 251

2. Bunbury, op. cit. 513

3. Solin. 2, 10; Saumaise, l.c. seems to agree with Solinus, but he quotes Marcianus Heracleota as evidence for the fact that the Sybarites founded Posidonia:

προσεχεις δὲ τοῦτοις εἰςὶ πάλιν οἰνωτέραι
μέχρι τῆς Ποσιδωνιάδος ὠνομασμένης
ἣν φασὶ Συβαρίτας ἀποκίσταλ ποτε.

This quotation is not found in the collection of Marcianus' fragments in Geog. Gr. Min. 1, 515 f. and so cannot be verified.

4. Strab. 6, 252

5. Scylax, Periplus, in Geog. Gr. Min. 1, 19, 12; Scymnus, Periegesis, in Geog. Gr. Min. 1, 206, 245.

6. Aristotl Pol. 7, 3, 1303a.

7. Bunbury, op. cit. 512; Hirt l.c.

8. ~~Reichel~~, op. cit. 157; Mommsen, op. cit. 154; Head, op. cit. 81

The date of the founding cannot be exactly fixed. If the Sybarites were the first settlers, it must have occurred between the establishment and ruin of the mother city, that is, between 700 and 510 B. C. (1) As colonization would be especially promoted during the period of prosperity in Sybaris, we can narrow down the date to 650 B. C. — 510 B. C. (2) The only clue we have from ancient authors is Herodotus' story (3) of a certain Posidonian who, at the direction of the Pythia, advised the Phocaeans who were fleeing from Rhegium to colonize the place later called Velia. Thus we know that Posidonia was founded prior to the settlement of Velia in 540 B. C. (4)

Various legends and traditions concerning Paestum and the surrounding country have been handed down to us by ancient authors. The southern part of the peninsula of Italy from Tarentum up to Paestum was called Oenotria (5) and inhabited by the Oenotrian race. (6) The origin of the name according to some authors was in Oenotrus, son of Lycaon, an Arcadian who was consecrated to the gods by his parents and sent to seek a settlement wherever fortune might lead him. (7)

1. Babelon, op. cit. 1427

2. Bunbury, l.c.

3. Herod. 1, 167

4. Forbiger, l.c.; Mommsen, op. cit. 315; Kluge, op. cit. 60, respectively give the dates 530, 524, and 481 for the founding of the city without offering any proofs for their preferences. These dates, however, are inconsistent with the story from Herodotus and are not to be considered.

5. Antiochus of Syracuse, apud Strab. 6, 254; Dion. Hal. 1, 73; 2, 1; Val. Flacc. 1, 589.

6. Verg. Aen. 1, 530; Strab. 6, 257

7. Dion. Hal. 1, 11-13; 2, 1.; Paus. 8, 3, 5; Serv. ad Aen. 1, 536; Steph. Byz. 486 This is, however, clearly an etymology of the common eponymous type.

He is said to have sailed in the first fleet ever sent from Greece to found a colony. (1) Another ancient theory of the origin of the name was that it was derived from οἶνος because so much wine was produced in that part of the country. (2) Later a certain Italus became king over the land and the name was changed to Italy eventually including the whole peninsula. (3) Contemporary with this change was the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural condition. (4)

The island of Leucosia in the bay of Posidonia is several times mentioned as a piece of land which had been torn away from the mainland. (5) It is also often called the island of the Sirens. (6) The name Leucosia was given to it from one of the sirens who failed to enchant Odysseus and his band as they sailed by. (7) The two siren sisters, Parthenope and Leucosia, then in despair plunged into the sea and were drowned. They were obliged to commit suicide since their charms had not succeeded. (8) The body of Leucosia was cast upon the shore of this island and was buried there. (9) Yearly the inhabitants of the place consecrated to this divinity the body of a bird. (10) Another myth tells how the island was named from a cousin of Aeneas who was buried there. (11) Among the ruins of Paestum has been found a metope on which are represented a male and a female figure approaching an altar.

1.-. Paus, l.c.

2. Serv. l.c.; Steph. Byz. l.c.

3. Arist. Pol. 4, 1329b.

4. Arist. l.c.

5. Strab. 6, 258; Plin. N. H. 2, 204; Eustath., in Geog. Gr. Min.

6. Strab. 1, 22; Plin. l.c.; Eustath., l.c. 2, 280, 361

7. Eustath., 2, 280, 358

8. Lübker, Reallexikon des klassischen Alterthums 8th ed. (1914) 927

9. Strab. 6, 252; Plin. N. H. 3, 7, 13

10. Lycophr. 5. 714.

11. Dion. Hal. 1, 53; Solin. 2, 13; Nissen, op. cit. 895

Seated on the altar is a small female form with the tail of a fish. (1) This may mean that the siren was recognized as a household goddess to whom the man and woman are bringing sacrificial offerings, although sirens were not generally considered as divinities. (2) Since sirens, as ghosts were often represented on grave stones, (3) this might be a funeral altar. In the keystone of an arched gateway at Paestum, the so-called Porta della Sirena, is pictured another siren in fish form. (4) We cannot be certain, however, that these archeological remains have any connection with the myths of Leucosia.

The legend is told of the river Silarus that though its water is healthful to drink, any branches or plants thrown into it become petrified, keeping both form and color. (5) This phenomenon is probably due to the abundance of lime in the water. The large deposits of lime made by the river form the travertine used by the Posidonians for building material. (6) In fact the travertine of which the temple of Neptune is built contains fossil seeds and aquatic plants. (7) The bull shown on some of the coins which bear the inscription MEIVA is a personification of the river Silarus. (8)

At the mouth of the Silarus river fifty stades, or nearly six miles, from Paestum was a temple supposedly erected by Jason and therefore very old. (9) It was dedicated to Juno - "Ἥρα Ἀργώα - which means the Argoan Hera, probably named from the ship Argo. (10)

1. Hosking, l.c.
2. Hosking, l.c.
3. Lübker, l.c.
4. Hosking, l.c.
5. Sil. Ital. 8, 581; Strab. 5, 251.
6. Nissen, op. cit. 2,2,892.
7. Baedeker, Italy, part 3, 14th Eng. ed. (1903), 170.
8. Babelon, op. cit. 1,2,1435
9. Strab, 1, 21; 6,252; Plin. 3,70; Solin.2,7; Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Nissen, l.c.; Kluge, op. cit. 59
10. Groskurd, Übersetzung zu Strabo 1 (1831), 439.

B - EARLIEST PERIOD

Very little was written about Posidonia from the time of its founding until 300 B. C. Diodorus and Dionysius tell of a certain Parmenides from Posidonia who received the palm in the Olympic races in 468 B. C. (1)

In spite of the fact that there is little direct evidence of historical events during this first period in the history of the city, we can form some idea of its condition from the archeological remains. A few of these can be dated before the fall of Sybaris. The walls of the city were probably laid out in the sixth century B. C. (2) The so-called Basilica and temple of Ceres are usually assigned to this period, the former being the older structure of the two, (3) Certain characteristics of the Poseidon temple - for instance, the short neck of the columns, the receding edge of the architrave, the low triglyphs, the stiffness of the pillars in antis, and the peculiar channelling - seem to indicate that it was erected in the middle of the sixth century. However, when one compares it with the other two Greek temples, there can be no doubt but that it is of more recent construction than either of them. (4)

In 510 B. C. Sybaris was destroyed by the Crotoniates and the inhabitants fled to Laus, Scidrus, and perhaps to Posidonia, although Herodotus does not mention the last named city. (5)

1. Diod. Sic. 11, 65; Dion. Hal., 9, 56; Kluge, op. cit. 60

2. Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 892

3. Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 13 & 18.

4. Hirt, op. cit. 18

5. Herod. 6. 21; Bunbury, op. cit.; Holm, Griechische Geschichte 2, 287; Hirt, op. cit. 5; Head op. cit. 84; Eckhel, op. cit. 1, 156 & 157 probably refers to this influx of Sybarites when he says Sybaris strengthened Posidonia by sending a colony there.

A large number of alliance coins is advanced as proof that part of the Sybarites took refuge with the Posidonians who later helped them to rebuild their city. (1) These coins show that a very close relationship existed between the two peoples because of the unusual interlacing of the types and inscriptions of both cities. On one side of the coins is a bull and the inscription ΜΟΓ, or some other form for Posidonia, while on the reverse is represented Poseidon and his trident and the legend √ΛΛ. The bull symbolizes Sybaris as shown by the coins of that city, (2) while Poseidon is Posidonia's patron deity. These coins belong to the middle of the fifth century. (3) At the same time there came a change in the coinage system of Posidonia. Heretofore the Campanian standard had been used in the matter of weight and the Achaean in fabric. It may have been that there was a sufficient number of Sybarite refugees in the colony to cause it to adopt the Achaean standard of weight also. (4)

The period after the fall of Sybaris, which powerful city no doubt had held the colony under its control, seems to have been one of prosperity for Posidonia if the large number of coins and the splendid architectural remains are any indications of its power, wealth, and size. (5) The temple of Poseidon which is the largest and most important of the temples, probably was built at this time. (6)

1. Hill, Hist. Coins, 51; Macdonald, Coin Types, (1905), 115; Head, op. cit. 81, 84-85.

2. Eckhel, op. cit. 160-161; Hill, Historical Coins, 49; Head, op. cit. 84-85; Gardner, op. cit. 202

3. Hill, Handbook, 115; id., Hist. Coins, 51; Head, op. cit. 81; Gardner, A History of Ancient Coinage (1918), 205; Kahrstedt, Coinage of Paestum, in Hermes 53 (1918), 187.

4. Macdonald, l.c.; Hill, Hist. Coins, l.c.; Head l.c.

5. Bunbury, op. cit. 2, 512; Forbiger, op. cit. 3, 508; Hirt, l.c.

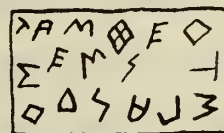
6. Hirt, op. cit. 18; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 12

Since the temple at Segesta, which was erected about 420 B.C., clearly is a more recent structure, we may date Poseidon's temple at approximately 440 B.C. (1) Although we have no definite proof of the age of the other remains - such as the aqueducts, the gates, the graves adorned with wall paintings, and many small objects, such as statuettes and vases - the very fact of Posidonia's prosperous condition at this time should warrant our assigning many of them to this period. (2)

Various racial elements then, were prominent in the first period of Posidonia's history. Paramount among them was the Greek due to the fact that its founders were of that nationality. (3) The Doric branch of the family was predominant. We see traces of it not only in such forms as $\Gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma\Delta\alpha\nu\varsigma\alpha\tau\alpha\mu$ on the coins, (4) but also in the dialect and forms in the two Greek inscriptions which can be definitely assigned to Posidonia. One of these is inscribed on the

base of a small statue of a canephore maiden. (5) $\alpha\chi\epsilon\theta\alpha\upsilon\ \gamma\iota\nu\eta\eta\alpha\downarrow$
 $\sigma\iota\iota\tau\omicron\tau\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\alpha\tau - \tau\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\ \phi\iota\lambda\lambda\omega\ \chi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\ \xi\ \delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\ \nu.$

The other is carved on a plate of silver. (6)



$\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\ldots\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota.$

1. Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 132; Anderson & Spiers, The Architecture of Greece and Rome (1907) 35 - say that the style of Poseidon's temple seems to warrant an earlier dating than 440 B.C.; Holm; Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum, (1870) 304 place the construction in the 4th century; Kluge, op. cit. 74 sets the date on March 29, 418 B.C. which was the only day in one hundred years that the rays of the rising sun could have shone on the statue of the god within the temple as it was supposed to do on the god's birthday.

2. Hirt, op. cit. 5; A small bronze statue which was found at Paestum can without doubt be assigned to this period; cf. Curtius, in Archeologische Zeitung 38 (1880) 27.

3. Strab. 6, 252; Scyl. 1, 19, 20; Scym. 1. 206, 245; Arist. op. cit. 7, 3, 1303a; Solin. 2, 10.

4. Eckhel, op. cit. 156; Mommsen, op. cit. 154; Babelon, op. cit.

5. Curtius, l.c.; Roehl, I. G. A. (1882), 542; I. G. 14, 664 1435

6. I. G. 14, 665; Welcker, Kleine Schriften 3 (1850), 237; Kluge, op. cit. 59

The meaning of neither inscription is of special importance. Perhaps the nationality of the Posidonians was the cause of the predominance of the Doric over the other styles of architecture in this period. All three Greek temples are modelled after this style, and the temple of Poseidon especially is one of the best preserved specimens of Doric architecture. (1) Among the architectural fragments which bear strong evidence of Greek origin are some Doric entablatures and a frieze. The sculptures on certain metopes, as for instance, the fallen warrior show striking Greek characteristics. (2) The wall paintings in some of the tombs also betray Greek influence. (3)

Although we have no direct evidence of the Oscans being among the inhabitants of Posidonia, many silver coins found there, which should be assigned to Plistia in Campania, show that Oscans were living in other Greek cities. These coins bear Samnite or Oscan inscriptions and belong to the same period as the coins inscribed "Posidonia." (4)

More apparent, however, was the Etruscan element which prevailed in the region round about Campania during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. while the Etruscans were masters of Italy. (5) In the wall paintings in a tomb at Albanella, about seven miles from Paestum, the Greek influence is very weak, and they show a certain bloodthirstiness characteristic of Etruscan art. (6) Etruscan vases beautifully painted have been found in different tombs in Paestum (7) and some architectural fragments showing an unusual combination of

1. Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Hirt, op. cit. 19; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 24
2. Hosking, op. cit. 85-87
3. Helbig, Dipinti di Pesto, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 282-285.
4. Eckhel, op. cit. 160
5. Helbig, op. cit. 262-263; Heitland, The Roman Republic 1 (1909), 15 & 39
6. Helbig, op. cit. 289
7. Weege, Oskische Grabmalerei, in Jb. d.k.d. Arch. Inst. 24 (1909), 118 & 119; Ruggiero, Degli Scavi di Antichità (1878), 459 & 469

Corinthian column and Doric entablature also suggest the art of Etruria where similar remains have been found. (1) To certain archaeologists even the 'Basilica' and temple of Ceres seem to have Etruscan qualities. (2) Finally, however, the Greek influence triumphed over the Etruscan, and after the Etruscans were defeated by the Greeks in the maritime battle of 474 B.C., the former became steadily weaker in South Italy. (3)

The South Italian element seems to have been slight in Posidonia. Our city did not at first adopt the whole monetary standard used by this part of the country. (4) There probably was some intercourse with these people, nevertheless, for some of the wall frescoes in the tombs of Paestum betray a little resemblance to Italian art. (5) The racial factors in Posidonian history were thus rather complicated. Greek, Oscan, Etruscan, and Italian came into conflict with one another and the Greek emerged triumphant for a period.

1. Canina, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1835), 187-188

2. Hirt, op. cit. 18; The early antiquarians believed that the Poseidon temple was of Phoenician or Etruscan origin because the proportions are heavier and the style more massive than in the ordinary type of Doric architecture. There is, however, no ground for such a belief - Bunbury, op. cit. 513.

3. Helbig, op. cit. 262-263; Heitland, op. cit. 1, 102

4. Mommsen, op. cit. 262-263; Macdonald, op. cit. 115; Hill, Historical Coins, 21; Babelon, op. cit. 1435; Head, op. cit. 80

5. Helbig, op. cit. 279-282; Weege, op. cit. 113-114.

C - CONQUEST OF POSIDONIA BY THE LUCANIANS

The next historical event of interest with reference to Posidonia was the hostile advance of the Lucanians through Magna Graecia. Posidonia, because of its northerly position must have been one of the first colonies to fall into their hands. (1) Strabo tells us that after Posidonia and its allies were conquered in war, the Lucanians took possession of their cities. (2) The Greek inhabitants were not expelled, but had to submit to the authority of the Lucanians and receive a barbarian colony within their walls. (3) The date of this event is uncertain, but it must have taken place before 390 B.C. when Laus, the bulwark of Magna Graecia on the western coast, was besieged by the Lucanians. (4)

In 332, according to Livy, Alexander, king of Epirus, made a hostile attack on the Lucanians which drew away the attention of the Samnites, their allies, to another quarter. The two nations fought a pitched battle against the king near Paestum and defeated him. (5) If Alexander recovered Paestum from Lucanian power at this time, it was only temporarily and the town reverted to the Lucanians after the death of the king not long afterwards in that same year. (6)

Aristoxenus describes the condition of the Posidonians after they came under Lucanian rule. He says they were Greeks who had to submit to the barbarism of the Tyrrhenians or Romans and were obliged to change their language and customs.

1. Niebuhr, Vorträge über römische Geschichte 1 (1846), 461; Bunbury, op. cit. 512; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 893.
2. Strab., 6, 252; 6, 254.
3. Bunbury, l.c.; Nissen, l.c.
4. Bunbury, l.c.; Helbig, op. cit. 290; Forbiger, l.c.; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 892; Hirt, op. cit. 5; Kluge, op. cit. 60; Head, op. cit. 81
5. Liv. 8, 17, 9; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 893; Kluge l.c.
6. Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Nissen, l.c.; Hands, The Coins of Magna Graecia. (1909), 102.

However, at an annual festival (1) the name and date of which we do not know, they met to renew the memories of their former name, the ancient customs, and laws of the country and to bewail their lot as a subject people. (1) Perhaps Athenaeus interpolated the term "or Romans" since Aristoxenus could not have seen Posidonia become a Roman colony and the Greek influence overcome by the Roman. The term "Tyrrhenian" could be used of any Italic people, hence, it is used here for the Lucanians. (2)

Posidonia at this time was rivalled by its neighbor Velia which was flourishing and well governed. This city successfully resisted the Lucanians and Posidonians. It excelled Posidonia in the size of its territory and the number of its men. (3)

The Oscan element had not been completely stamped out in the early period of the city's history. Traces of it remain throughout the Lucanian era. The paintings on the walls of some of the tombs at Paestum show Oscan characteristics. (4) Most important among these are the frescoes of animals and a funeral scene on the walls of the tomb in which a certain Assteas vase was found. (5) Many coins of this period bear the inscription PAIΣTANO and it is possible that the ending o instead of um is due to Oscan influence. (6) That the change of the city's name from Posidonia to Paestum may have had Oscan origin has been shown above, (7) yet it is more probable that change in the name is due to the Lucanizing of the Posidonians as previously discussed. (8)

1. Aristox., apud Athen. 14, 632a.

2. Helbig, op. cit. 291-292

3. Strab. 6, 252; Kluge, op. cit. 59

4. Helbig, op. cit. 268-274

5. Helbig, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 93

6. Conway, op. cit. 143

7. p. 5

8. p. 5

Greek civilization continued to be paramount for some time after the Lucanian occupation. The coins kept their ancient types and Greek names longest (1), but those minted from about 300 B.C. to 268 B.C. show several new types due to Lucanian influence. Some of the Lucanian ones are stamped with the heads of the Dioscuri, others have the dolphin, and still others have a young boy, perhaps Eros, riding the dolphin. (2) The dolphin is found on the older Greek coins, but the boy riding it and the Dioscuri were introduced by the conquerors of Posidonia. The Posidonians began to familiarize themselves with Lucanian artistic ideas long before they changed their coin types. The Greek spirit is still shown in the grave paintings, but there is a native Lucanian independence in the matter of features and dress. The strange lords, Lucanian warriors are represented in showy gold and silver armor. (3)

1. Helbig, op. cit. 290-292.

2. Mommsen, Münzwesen, 315; Hands, op. cit. 108; Head, op. cit. 82

3. Helbig, op. cit. 282-285; Nissen, op. cit. 1, 538; 2, 2,893; In a tomb near the Porta Aurea have been found a Lucanian plate and other small articles - Weege, op. cit. 120

D - PAESTUM - A LATIN COLONY.

We do not know what part Paestum played in the campaign against Pyrrhus, but after he had been banished, Paestum was established as a Latin colony by the Romans in 273 B.C. (1), during the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina. This was for the sake of strengthening the newly acquired Roman territory in that region (2) and conquered Picentines were settled there. (3)

Many Latin colonies went to ruin after the battle of Cannae in the second Punic war, (4) but Paestum was a notable exception as Livy shows us. (5) Legates were sent to Rome from Paestum as well as from Naples with golden paterae. Although they were thanked for the gift, the gold was not accepted. The colony was perhaps even prosperous, for in 210 Marcellus, according to a treaty, demanded twenty ships from Velia, Paestum, and Rhegium for an expedition to Sicily. (6) The next year, although Paestum had been hard pressed by the war, it was one of the eighteen colonies which announced their readiness to furnish Rome with as many troops as were needed and to do anything else she desired. It was by the support of these colonies that Rome was able to withstand the enemy. (7)

1. Liv., Ep. 14; Strab. 6, 252; Vell. Paterculus, 1, 14; Mommsen C. I. L. 10, p. 52; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 893; Hirt, op. cit. 5; Kluge, op. cit. 60.

2. Bunbury, op. cit. 513

3. Strab, 5, 251; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 823; 2, 2, 893

4. Kluge, l.c.

5. Liv. 22, 36, 9; Kluge, l.c.

6. Liv. 26, 39, 5; Mommsen, l.c.; Bunbury l.c.; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 893; Kluge, l.c.

7. Liv. 27, 10, 7; Niebuhr, Vorträge über Römische Geschichte, 2 (1853), 105; Mommsen l.c.; Bunbury, l.c. Kluge, l.c.

The Greek element was not yet entirely subdued by Lucanian and Roman civilization. The inscription $\Gamma A I \Sigma T A N O$ on the coins clearly imitates the Greek. (1) Perhaps because Paestum was more Greek than Latin the Romans demanded ships of them in the second Punic war (2) instead of men, just as they did of the allied Greek states. An Oscan inscription would prove that this racial element had not died out either, provided the inscription was composed at Paestum where it was found. It was written on a small bronze vessel of which one end is spoon-shaped and the other pointed. If its origin is Paestan, it should be dated at the time of the transition of the city to a colony. The inscription is as follows:

ESOPETRV
SVMOATIMEI
ECOLVRV
MASIOTER

which seems to mean:

Illo lapides
simul caeduntur
hoc vestes
subiguntur.

The legend probably tells the use of the instrument - to carve stones with the pointed end and to press clothes as in fulling with the other. The use of the Greek Λ along with the otherwise wholly Latin alphabet is not uncommon even in Latin inscriptions. (3)

The architectural remains for the Roman period are not of great importance. (4) The chief one is a small Corinthian-Doric temple, now almost in ruins, which was built in the year of the founding of the colony or soon after, according to Kluge's calculations of the sun's rays. (5)

1. Mommsen, C.I.L. 10, p 53; Bunbury, op. cit. 513
2. Mommsen, l.c.
3. Huschke - Die Osk & Sabell. Sprachdenkmäler (1856), 207; Fabretti C. Inscr. Ital. 2900; Von Planta, op. cit. 2, 498.
4. Nissen, l.c. 5. Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 12; Kluge, op. cit. 74.

This is the so-called Temple of Peace. This temple is located near the intersection of the two main streets of the city which seems to have been the middle of the city in the Roman period. Other relics of the Roman era which have been previously discussed (1) are the ampitheater, theater, one of the gates, a stoa, and an aedícula in antis. Some architectural fragments consisting of a combination of Corinthian columns, Doric entablature, and cornices which show Ionic features, perhaps should be dated in this period. (2)

1. pp 10 & 11.

2. Canina, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1835), 137-188

E - THE PERIOD OF THE SOCIAL WAR.

Between the years 273 and 90 B.C. comes a gap in the history of Paestum since none of the ancient authors give us information regarding the colony during this period. In 90 B. C. Paestum was assigned to the tribe of Maecia and also called a prefecture of Lucania. (1) During the Social war most of the Italian communities became municipalities by the Lex Iulia. It would seem that Paestum also changed from a Latin colony to a municipality, (2) for quattuorviri, the chief officials of a municipality, are mentioned on a few of the coins. (3) However, if Paestum ever was a municipality, it did not remain so long. It is expressly called a colony in several of the inscriptions (4) and duoviri are mentioned both on the coins and in the inscriptions, (5) from which facts we infer that its next change was to a Roman colony. Besides the duoviri there was an ordo decurionum or senatus to govern the colony. (6)

As a Roman colony Paestum should not have had the right of coining money since its inhabitants were full of Roman citizens. But to Paestum alone of all the colonies the Romans seem to have given a special grant in 89 B.C. to mint its own money. (7)

1. Liber Coloniæarum, in Römische Feldmesser 1 (1848), 209; Mommsen, l.c.; Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Desjardin, l.c.; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 893
2. C. I. L. 1, 206; Mommsen, C. I. L. 10, p 53; Bunbury, l.c.; Pelham, Outlines of Roman History, 4th ed. (1905), 453; Reid, Municipalities of the Roman Empire (1913), 112.
3. Mommsen, l.c.
4. C. I. L. 10, 476, 477, 478, 483, 484, 486; also Martial 9, 26.
5. C. I. L. 10, 476, 477, 479, 480, 484.
6. C. I. L. 10, 476, 477; Desjardin, l.c.
7. Head, op. cit. 82; Bunbury, l.c.; Nissen, l.c.; Hill, Handbook, 92-93 & 145; Pais, Ancient Italy. (1908), 318

The P. S. S. C. (Paesti Signatum Senatus Consulto) on the coins of this date show that the concession rested on a resolution of the Roman senate. The names of the city magistrates are found on these coins. (1) Some bronze coins dating from the time of the special concession for minting give evidence of the method by which coins were made. On one side is a pair of scales weighted with the bullion to be coined. The legend is Q.LAVR and PAE . On the reverse is pictured a man in a tunic with hammer raised in the act of striking an anvil in front of him on which is the metal for the coins. Facing him is another man with arm raised in the attitude of command. The inscription on this side is MIL , S , and DSS .(De senatus sententia) Another coin has a similar scene, but a slightly different inscription S P D D which probably means Signatum Paesti Decreto Decur-
ionum. (2)

1. C. I. L. 1,510

2. Hill, Handbook, 145; Babelon, op. cit. 1,1,903; Pansa, Illustrazione di un Bassorilievo Romano, in Röm. Abteil des k.d. Arch Inst. 22 (1907), 203; Head, op. cit. 83

F. THE PERIOD OF THE EMPIRE

Towards the end of the republic Paestum is mentioned again.

Cicero (1) speaks of it with reference to sailing from which we infer that it still had traffic on the sea. During the empire bronze coins were still minted, some having the heads of Augustus and Tiberius stamped on them and bearing the inscription P. S. S. C. (Paesti Signatum Senatus Consulto) and *II VIR* besides the names of officials and preists. (2) The emperor Vespasian increased the city's population by sending there the marines of the fleet of Misenum to reward them for their revolt from Vitellius. (3) Many poets of the empire from Virgil down to Ennodius praise the beautiful roses of Paestum which bloomed twice annually and surpassed all other roses in fragrance. (4)

1. Cic. ad Att. 11, 17; 16, 6; Kluge, op. cit. 61
2. Eckhel, op. cit. 1, 159; Cavedoni, Nummi Aevi Augustei, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1850), 197; Mommsen, C. I. L. 10, p. 53; id., Münzwesen, 338; Kluge, op. cit. 60.
3. C. I. L. 3, 1958; Eph. Epi. 2, 457; Nissen, op. cit. 894.
4. Virgil, Georg. 4, 119; Propertius, 4, 5, 61; Ovid, Ex Ponto 2, 4, 28; Meta. 15, 708; Martial 4, 42, 10; 4, 80, 6; 9, 26, 3, 12, 31, 3; Columella 10, 37; Ausonius 14, 11; Claudian 10, 237; Martianus Capella 6, 641; Ennodius 1, 9, 146 & p. 447.

G - THE DESTRUCTION OF PAESTUM.

The facts are very meagre for the later history of Paestum. Strabo tells us that the small stream near the city made the place unhealthy because of its stagnant waters. (1) This stream is the modern Salso and from it and the nearby swamps malaria arose causing most of the inhabitants of Paestum to move to Capaccio. (2) From the church records we learn that Paestum became a bishopric at least as early as the fifth century. (3) Paulus Diaconus mentions Paestum as one of the cities of Lucania. (4) Soon after 649 A.D. the Saracens invaded the neighborhood and devastated the place (5) and the Norman knights later completed its destruction. (6)

1. Strab. 6, 252

2. Bunbury, op. cit. 513-514; Nissen, l.c.; Hirt, op. cit. 5

3. Bunbury, op. cit. 513

4. Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum 2, 17

5. Leo, Geschichte von Italien. 1 (1892), 272; Nissen, l.c.; Hirt op. cit. 6; Kluge, op. cit. 62

6. Hirt, l.c.

V - ANTIQUITIES

A. Government.

The inscriptions and coins are our sources of information for the officials who governed Paestum. A few of the coins at the time of the Social war were stamped by quattuorviri. (1) These magistrates were at one time the highest ones both in the municipalities and colonies. In the time of the empire, however, duoviri were placed in charge of the colonies while the quattuorviri remained in the municipalities. The duties of both types of officials were practically the same. (2) It is possible that Paestum as a Latin colony was ruled over by quattuorviri until the time of the empire when it became a Roman colony and duoviri were its magistrates. On the other hand it may have been a municipality for a short time before it acquired Roman citizenship in which case also the quattuorviri would have been its chief officials.

As a Roman colony, then, Paestum was governed by duoviri (3). They were the judges, presided over the assemblies of the people, especially the elections, and over the senate. (4) The names of many patrons are found both on the coins (5) and in the inscriptions. (6) The people conferred this title upon wealthy or influential men who might benefit the community. (7)

1. Mommsen, C. I. L. 10, p. 53.

2. Pauly, Real - Encyclopädie s.v. quattuorviri; Reid, 148 The Municipalities of the Roman Empire.

3. Garrucci, R. Monete dell. It., in Mommsen l.c.; Eckhel, op. cit. 158; Desjardin, l.c.; Kluge, op. cit. 66; Head, op. cit. 82; C. I. L. 10, 476, 477, 479, 480, and 484

4. Reid, op. cit. 444

5. Eckhel, l.c.

6. C. I. L. 10, 481, 482, 484; Eph. Epi. 8, 288; Not. degli Scavi (1890)

7. C. I. L. 10, 476, 478

The senate or ordo decurionum (1) was made up of decuriones who were life members. The number of these was originally one hundred, but was generally less in the small cities. Every five years vacancies in this body were filled up by those who had held offices or were qualified by their property. (2)

Other civil institutions found in a Roman colony are an assembly of the people, quaestors, aediles, and duoviri quinquennales. (3) Only the last of these is mentioned in the inscriptions and on the coins of Paestum. (4)

1. C.I.L. 10, 477, 480; Eckhel, op. cit. 159; Mommsen, Münzwesen 338; Desjardin, l.c.
2. Mommsen, Staatsrecht (1888) 3, 456; Reid, op. cit. 508
3. Mommsen, op. cit. 2, 336 f; Reid, op. cit. 447
4. Garrucci, l.c.; Eckhel, op. cit. 158; C.I.L. 10, 484.

B - RELIGION

The priestly officials of Paestum recorded on the coins and inscriptions are a flamen of Tiberius Caesar (1), a magister Augustalium et Mercurialis, (2) and a magister of Bona Mens. (3) The magister Augustalium was at the head of a college established for the worship of the deified Augustus, and made up of twenty one members of the senatorial order and next to the senate in rank. (4) The college of the Bona Mens was founded after the disaster at Lake Trasimenus and a festival was celebrated on June eighth. (5)

Foremost among the divinities of Paestum was Poseidon, the patron deity of the city. (6) He is pictured on all the early coins of Posidonia brandishing a trident, his symbol of power, and wearing a chlamys over his shoulders, and is sometimes accompanied by a dolphin. (7)

All over the Greek world Poseidon was connected with Poseidon Geraistos who in turn is identical with Geraistos. We can trace the cult of the last named back to Euboea, Laconia and Troezen. The festival of this god is called Περαίστια. In Laconia, Cos, and Calymnia there is a month called Περαίστιος which corresponds to the Attic Elphebolion and includes the latter half of March and the first of April. Troezen had a tribe named Περαίστια. (8) The worship of Poseidon in Posidonia no doubt originated with the Troezian settlers there and the festival probably took place in the spring during the month of Περαίστιος.

1. Garrucci, l.c. 2. C.I.L. 10, 485, p 53 3. C.I.L. 10, 472; Des-
 4. Mommsen, op. cit. 3, 453; Reid, op. cit. 508 Desjardins, l.c.
 5. Lübker, op. cit. s.v. Mens
 6. Curtius, in Arch. Zeit. 38 (1880), 27, apud Kluge op. cit. 67.
 7. Eckhel, op. cit. 157-158; Hill, Handbook, 115 - 152 & 169; id., Hist. Coins, 49 & 51; Mommsen, Münzwesens, 107 & 154; Macdonald, op. cit. 115; Babelon, op. cit. 1433; Kluge, op. cit. 66; Head, op. cit. 80-82; Gardner, op. cit. 201.
 8. Wide, Lakonische Kulte, 43.

We learn from one of the inscriptions that a temple was dedicated to Neptune in Paestum. (1) The largest of the Greek temples is assigned to him merely because he was the tutelary deity of the city. (2) The mosaic of a dolphin found in this temple (3) tends, however, to corroborate this designation, since the dolphin is connected with the god of the sea on some of the coins of Paestum (4) and in many representations of him in sculpture. (5)

Ceres seems to have been next of importance among the divinities of Paestum, which is quite natural since she and Poseidon were in several places worshipped together. (6) The coins of the period 268 B.C. to 89 B.C. show the head of Ceres and the whole or forepart of a boar or a wolf. (7) These animals are unusual attributes of Ceres and perhaps indicate a relationship between Ceres and Diana such as is found elsewhere. (8) Several Greek inscriptions seem to be dedicated to Demeter. The inscription on the silver plate τὰς θεῶν τῆς παλῆς ἐῖμε has been ascribed to Demeter or Proserpina on the ground that τῆς.... should be expanded to τῆς ἐῖμενός which could easily be an epithet for either goddess.

1. Orelli, Inscriptiones Latinae 1 (1828), 2492.
2. Bunbury, op. cit. 513
3. Kluge, l.c.
4. cf. p. 34
5. Gruppe, Gr. Mythologie and Religionsgeschichte, in Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft, 5,2,2, (1906), 1145 & 1163.
6. Wide, Lakonische Kulte (1893), 175; Gruppe, op. cit. 1138
7. Kluge, op. cit. 65; Head, op. cit. 82
8. Gruppe, op. cit. 1168

σεμνή is an attribute of Demeter and τριτέμνου would not be an unusual compound. (1) An inscription found on the coast of Leucosia was also dedicated to Demeter. (2) Besides, the legend on a bronze helmet belonging either to Paestum or Locri, probably the former, may refer to the goddess of the grain. It reads ΕΡΙΘΟΝΑΙ...ΚΕΜ-Ε+ΕΝΑ-ΕΡΙΦΟΝΑ ΕΥΕΘΗΚΕ ΜΕ ΞΕΝΑ... of which perhaps the first word is an epithet of Demeter or some other goddess. (3)

The Greek temple situated nearest the north gate of Paestum is assigned to Demeter although there is no evidence to warrant this. (4) The other Greek building is called the 'Basilica' and there has been much controversy concerning the purpose for which it was designed. Perrot (5) insists that it was a place of business on the ground that the proportion of the length of its columns to the size of the façade is different from that of temples.

The 'Basilica' is generally considered a temple, however, because of the altar in it. (6) An archaic inscription bearing the name of Poseidon and found near the 'Basilica' has been advanced as proof that it is another temple to Neptune. (7) The unusual structure of the building - the interior being divided lengthwise into two parts - seems to indicate that it was a temple dedicated to two closely related deities. (8) Perhaps it was for the Dioscuri who are represented on some Posidonian coins, or for Ceres and Proserpina.

1. I.G. 14, 665; Welcker, op. cit. 3, 237; Franz, C.I.G. 3 (1853), 577B; Roehl, I.G.A. (1882); Kluge, op. cit. 66
2. C.I.L. 10, 467 (541)
3. I.G. 14, 631; Franz, op. cit. 577 8b; Roehl, op. cit. 538; Kluge, op. cit. 67
4. Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Puchstein & Koldwey, op. cit. 18; Kluge 560 f;
5. Perrot & Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art 7(1898) 560 f; Hirt, op. cit. 19
6. Anderson & Spiers, op. cit. 35-37; Bonucci, Bull. dell. Inst (1834), 50.
7. The Expedition of Spinazzola, in Am. J. Arch (1908), 105.
8. Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Anderson & Spiers, l.c.

The latter conjecture is more plausible because the 'Basilica' is near the temple of Poseidon who is Demeter's partner in religious cults. (1) Another argument in favor of Demeter and Persephone is that nearly a thousand statues of the former goddess have been found between the Basilica and the temple of Neptune. (2)

At any rate a cult of Demeter probably existed in Paestum. Our first thought would be that it originated in Sybaris where Demeter doubtless was worshipped, yet there is no evidence for Sybaris as the source of the cult. We must go back to Laconia where Eleusinia was honored who was similar to the great goddesses of Eleusis - Demeter and Persephone. She had a temple at Therai in Laconia where sacred inscriptions have been found to Demeter and Persephone who are designated as the Eleusinian goddesses. (3)

On the other hand the cult of Demeter and Persephone might have come from Sicily whose colonies are as old as those of southern Italy. One of the festivals for Persephone here was the Anthesphoria, held in honor of the goddess who was carried off while picking flowers. (4) Persephone's celebrations took place in the fall [of] Sicily and those of Ceres in the spring. The one at Paestum was perhaps set early in the fall so that many of the inhabitants might be able also to take part in the great Eleusinian festival at Attica. (5)

Hera was also probably worshipped in Paestum for her temple was not far from the city at the mouth of the Silarus (6) and she is represented on some of the coins. (7)

1. cf. p. 35

2. Kluge, op. cit. 68

3. Wide, l.c.; Nissen, op. cit. 334; Kluge, op. cit. 73

4. Strab. 6, 256; Pollux, 1. 37; Nilsson, op. cit. 354

5. Diod. 5, 4; Kluge, l.c.

6. Plin. 3, 70; Strab. 6, 252; Solin, 2, 7.

7. Head, op. cit. 81; Maiuri, Arcane Cumana, in Ausonia 6 (1911) 9.

The other deities of whom we learn from the coins are Athena, (1) Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Juno Moneta, Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Bona Mens, and the Bona Dea. (2) Except for Poseidon, Demeter, Hera, Athena, and Zeus, all the divinities were introduced under Roman influence and only Poseidon is found on the coins prior to 400 B.C. (3)

One temple and one festival yet remain. The temple is the small Corinthian one belonging to the Roman period. It is generally called the Temple of Peace and various reasons have been given for its name. The trunk of a woman representing Pax was found nearby, (4) also pieces of sculpture showing two hands joined. (5) Perhaps it was so dedicated after some conquest which was pictured on the walls. (6) It has been suggested that this was a temple to Jupiter which would fit in well with the legend 'Q*i*urinus' - expanded from Q*v*i - on certain coins. (7) The yearly festival in which the Posidonians mourned the loss of Hellenism seems not to have been connected with any god. (8)

1. I.G. 14, 664; Curtius, l.c. A statue of bronze on the base of which is inscribed Ἀθήνας πολλὰ χαρμυλίδε δεκάτατον should also be assigned to Athena.

2. Eckhel, op. cit. 158; Mommsen, Münzwesens. 154-156; Kluge, op. cit. 65; Head, op. cit. 82.

3. Kluge, l.c.

4. Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 32; Cavedoni, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1844), 186; (1848), 16; Ann. dell. Inst. (1850), 197; Duc de Luynes, Médailles inédites, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1841), 133-4

5. Hosking, op. cit. 85

6. Id., op. cit. 87

7. Eckhel, l.c.; Kluge, op. cit. 75

8. See p. 23

C - ECONOMIC LIFE.

There are almost no facts which inform us of the occupations of the Posidonians. We can only conjecture that the cultivation of the celebrated roses of Paestum which bloomed twice a year was one phase of their economic activity. (1) A great many statuettes and small busts have been found throughout the city and in a building down near the harbor. One may suppose from this that the statuettes were made by the inhabitants of the town and that the building was either a storehouse or factory for them. (2) Bamonte discovered what he thought was a metal working shop. (3)

Situated as it was about half a mile from the sea coast, Paestum no doubt engaged in some sort of marine life. We know that the colony furnished Rome with ships during the second Punic war. (4) Cicero mentions both the town and the bay with reference to sailing. (5) Perhaps the Posidonians like the people of the neighboring town Elea were forced on account of the barrenness of their soil to go to sea and support themselves with salt foods. (6)

One fact we know about the economic life of Paestum is that the minting of its coins was industriously managed there from the first period of its history until the time of the empire. (7) The first coins of Paestum follow the Campanian system except in the matter of fabric which was Achaean. (8)

1. Virg. Georg. 4, 119; Martial 12, 313; Columella 10, 37; Auson. Idyll, 14, 11; Ennod. Dictio, in Hartel Corp. Vind. 6, 507; Nissen, op. cit. 2, 2, 893; Joret, La Rose dans l' Antiquité (1892), 33.
- Hirt, op. cit. 5; 2. Bonucci, l.c. Bamonte in Ann. dell Inst (1835), 50.
3. Ruggiero, Degli Scavi di Antichità (1878), 467.
4. Liv. 25, 39, 5; Nissen, l.c.
5. Cic. Ad Att. 11, 7; 16, 6. 6. Strab. 6, 252
7. Nissen, l.c. The coins of Paestum were minted in that city - cf. p. 28
8. Hill, Handbook, 104; id., Hist. Coins, 21; Mommsen, Münzwesens. 107; Head, op. cit. 80

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But in the fifth century the Achaean standard was adopted entire. (1) The coins of this system had the type in relief on the obverse and a repetition of the essentials in incuse on the reverse. This peculiar fashion of minting may have been under the influence of the Pythagorean attempt to express contraries, for that sect was strong in southern Italy. (2) The earliest symbol found on Posidonian coins was that of Poseidon with a chlamys hanging over his shoulders and brandishing a trident. A dolphin was sometimes added. (3) Later the bull, the Sybarite symbol, or perhaps another of Poseidon's attributes (4), became the reverse type on the so-called alliance coins of Posidonia and Sybaris. (5) Under Roman influence the coining of divine types took place on a larger scale, as was the case in other Greek colonies of Italy and Sicily. (6) We find on the coins of the Roman period the heads of Dionysus, Artemis, and Demeter (7) and the inscription ΠΑΙΣΤΑΝΟ . (8)

As for the fabric of the coins copper does not seem to have been minted in Posidonia before the Lucanian invasion, but small silver coins were the first kind used. Later copper was introduced (9) and the minting of silver continued until about 268 B.C.

1. Macdonald, op. cit. 115; Hands, op. cit. 107; Head op. cit. 81
2. Hill, Handbook, 152; id., Hist. Coins, 21; Mommsen, op. cit. 106; Hands, op. cit. 106.
3. Hill, Handbook, 152; id., Hist. Coins 51; Mommsen, op. cit. 107; Head, op. cit. 80; Duc de Luynes, Médaillles inédites, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1841), 133; Cavedoni, Opere numismatiche, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1848), 16.
4. Verg. Aen. 3, 119
5. Hill, Handbook, 115; id., Hist. coins, 51; Mommsen, l.c.; Head, op. cit. 81 & 84
6. Kluge, op. cit. 65
7. Hands, op. cit. 109; Head, op. cit. 82; Cavedoni, Opere del signor Riccio, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1844), 186.
8. Mommsen, C.I.L. 10, p 52
9. Mommsen, Münzwesens, 113.

At that time Rome began issuing silver coins and forbade the colonies to mint silver any longer. (1) Bronze was coined in Paestum up to the age of Augustus. (2) A gold coin bearing on one side in inscription ΠΟΣΕΙ and Poseidon with his trident and on the reverse a bull and ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ, retrograde, has been found. This coin is believed to be a false one as gold was not minted in Italy during this period and it is an exact reproduction of the silver coins (3)

1. Hill, Handbook, 92 & 93; Nissen, op. cit. 2,2,893
2. Reid, op. cit. 469
3. Eckhel, op. cit. 157; Sambon, in Arch. stor. per la prov. Nap. (1893), 2, in Am. J. Arch. (1894), 45.

D - ART.

The finest examples of Posidonian art are the three Greek temples. These are all built in Doric style, which fact shows that there was probably no architectural connection between the colony and its mother city since the remains of the latter point to old Italian and late Greek influence. The plans of the temple are more perfect than is usually the case with archaic Doric architecture. The temple of Poseidon is the largest and finest of the three, as well as the best preserved. It shows that at the time of its construction, about the middle of the fifth century, a single, universal, and uniformly developed style prevailed which has only a few correspondences to the old varied forms. Its proportions are heavier and its style is more massive and solid than is the case with other Doric temples. (1) It is an hypaethral temple, that is, its cella is open to the sky. Thirty six simple, strong columns arise without bases directly from the stylobate. They are only slightly channelled. The capitals are conical in shape arising from a leaf encircled neck and crowned with a cushion-formed echinus. Above it are the architrave, and the abacus which projects slightly. The frieze is quite high, in true archaic style, and in it the alternation of the plain metopes with the rectangular divisions of the triglyphs is in keeping with the simplicity of the whole structure. The entablature and gables have no decorations, but the cornice which extends above the architrave along the sides of the temple was probably adorned with an anthemion design. At regular intervals along the cornice are lion heads for water spouts.

1. Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 12; Hirt, op. cit. 19; Anderson & Spiers, op. cit. 35-37

The temple proper is divided into three naves, the middle one of which is the cella where were placed the image of the god and an altar for burnt offerings. The cella is an oblong room enclosed by columns. There is quite a wide space between its columns and the outer ones. Little is left of the cella walls. The pronaos is enclosed by the projection of the two long sides of the cella wall and has two columns in front of it. Behind the cella was the opisthodomos which like the pronaos is in antis. (1)

The 'Basilica' and the temple of Ceres are examples of the variety and flexibility of the Doric style in the sixth century B.C. The type of the Basilica is pseudo-dipteral - having a single range of outer columns but in the position of the outer of the two rows in a dipteral temple. This temple differs from all other known ancient buildings in having nine columns at each end, eighteen on each side, and being divided lengthwise into two parts by eight columns which extend along the center of the building. (2) The cella is divided into two naves and contains an immense altar. The decorative treatment of its capitals is similar to that of the temple of Ceres, but otherwise very different from any other known examples of the formation of the neck and gorge. There is a sinking of the gorge and the neck is surrounded by a range of leaves which project forward. The decoration in relief on the lower part of the echinus is varied in its designs, two of which are Ionian. The capitals of the antae are also of unusual form paralleled only by those in temple T at Selinus. (3) A monumental stairway serving as an approach to the Basilica has been uncovered and fragments of a frieze, cornices, and terra cotta decorations near the site of its altar have been found. (4)

1. Hirt, op. cit. 7-19; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 18

2. Bunbury, l.c.; Anderson & Spiers, l.c.; Durm, Die Baukunst der Griechen, in Handbuch der Architektur 1, 2, (1910), 382.

3. Anderson, l.c.; Durm, l.c. 4. The Expedition of Spinazzola, l.c.

The third Greek temple, that of Ceres, is smaller than either of the others. It is a hexastyle and in technique and form shows an advance over the Basilica. It has no remarkable architectural peculiarities. (1) The frieze, cornice, and pediment have been preserved and the ground plan is complete. The columns are comparatively slender for Doric ones. Before the east front of the temple was a large altar for burnt offerings. (2)

The Roman temple does not afford us as good an opportunity as do the Greek ones for studying Posidonian art since it is almost entirely in ruins. The fragments consist of broken entablatures of Doric style, parts of columns, metopes and triglyphs embellished with sculpture, and rudely carved Corinthian capitals. (3) These capitals are similar to some found in Salerno which have the heads of gods and goddesses instead of volutes on the four sides. Although they are of the Corinthian order, they are Roman rather than Greek in style. The bases of the columns are also Corinthian. (4) The Doric parts of the temple conform neither to the old Doric style of the Greek period nor the late Doric as exemplified in temple B at Selinus. There is, however, in them a certain archaism which can be traced to the influence of the temple of Poseidon. This is shown in such details as the proportions of the triglyphs. (5)

The tombs of Paestum are full of examples of art not only in the paintings on the walls, but also in the other archeological relics found in them.

1. Bunbury, op. cit. 514; Durm, l.c.
2. Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 18
3. Hosking, l.c.; Wolff, op. cit. 136-137; Canina, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1835), 187-188; Koldwey & Puchstein, op. cit. 32 & 35.
4. Wolff, l.c.; Canina, l.c.
5. Koldwey & Puchstein, l.c.

These graves seem to be distributed over quite a long period of time from the Greek on thru the Lucanian era. Some of the tombs are of tufa, but more of travertine. (1) Although Greek, (2) Oscan, (3) and Etruscan (4) elements are found in their paintings, the general tendency is toward the Lucanian type. (5) The majority of these wall paintings are of warlike character representing warriors departing for the battlefield or returning home victorious, combats, and battles. (6) Animals appear in some of the frescoes and there are besides various miscellaneous scenes. (8)

Among the contents of the tombs are many vases of different kinds - Etruscan ones with beautiful paintings, (9) alabaster, glass, and unglazed ones, some with a silver black glaze and red figures in fine style, (10) and many others. (11) The most important of the vases is that called the Assteas crater. On it are represented Hercules furens, a child, Megara, the goddess Mania, and Iolus. The inscription reads $\Lambda \Sigma \Sigma \tau \epsilon \alpha \Sigma \epsilon \rho \rho \alpha \phi \epsilon$.

1. Weege, op. cit. 113-120.
2. Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 282 - 285.
3. Helbig, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 93-95.
4. Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 288.
5. Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 274-288 & 290; Nissen, op. cit. 1, 538; 2, 2, 893.
6. Helbig, op. cit. 274-288; Nissen, l.c.; Weege, op. cit. 113-120; Additional illustrations of grave paintings from Paestum may be found in Niculus, Memorie sui monumenti di Antichità, (1812), pl. 12; Monumenti Inedite 8 (1865), tab. 21; 10, tab. 29
7. Helbig, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 93-95; Weege, op. cit. 119.
8. Bonucci, op. cit. 50-53; Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 288; Bull. Nap. (new series) 3, 10f; 4, 4b; Monumenti Inediti, (1854), pl. 79; Helbig, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 93-95; Weege, op. cit. 113 - 120
9. Ruggiero, op. cit. 459 & 469; Weege, op. cit. 118 & 120.
10. Bonucci, op. cit. 51; Weege, op. cit. 119.
11. Bonucci, op. cit. 52; Millingen, Ann. dell. Inst. (1834), 337; Ruggiero, op. cit. 474-476; Weege, op. cit. 120.

The other side of the vase shows a Bacchic scene. This vase is either a later production than the tomb, belonging to the end of the fourth century, in which it was found. or was imported from a more advanced center of art. (1)

Other articles found in the tombs are parts of armor, pottery, some of which is inscribed, bronzes, jewelry, forks, an iron candlestick, metal buckles, and gems. (2)

Aside from the tomb contents a large number of other archaeological relics have been unearthed. There are statuettes of Ceres, Athena, women, and a bronze one of a Gallic warrior. (3) To these should be added a miscellaneous collection of sculptured metopes, pilasters with bas reliefs, various metal articles especially of silver, besides many bronzes, and two colossal marble statues of Tiberius and Livia, the latter impersonating Ceres. (4)

1. Helbig, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1864), 134; id. in Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 94; Weege, op. cit. 118-119.
2. Bonucci, op. cit. 51; Ruggiero, op. cit. 459; 469, 474, 476. Fiorelli, in Not. degli Scavi (1882), 303; id. in op. cit. (1885), 49; id. in op. cit. (1887), 83; Fulvio, in Not. degli Scavi (1891), 136; Viola, in op. cit. (1895), 97; de Petra, in op. cit. (1896), 71.
3. I.G. 14, 664; Curtius, l.c.; Roehl, op. cit. 542; Lindenschmit, Alterthümer uns heidn. Vorzeit 1,3, pl 2, n.4, apud Paribeni, in Ausonia, 2,2 (1908), 282; Kluge, op. cit. 68; Bamonte, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1835), 50.
4. Brunn, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1863), 106; Avellini & Welcker l.c.; I.G. 14, 631 & 665; Welcker, l.c.; Franz, C.I.G. 577 8b; Huschke, l.c.; Helbig, in Ann. dell. Inst. (1865), 292; Ruggiero, op. cit. 459-476; Roehl, op. cit. 541; Kluge, op. cit. 66; Helbig, in Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 95-96.

E - PROSOPOGRAPHIA.

- DIGITUS ANTONIUS (1) - duovir.
 AQUILIO NESTORIO (2)
 ARRIO ISIDORO (3) - missicius
 L. ARTU. (4) (Lucius Artu[us]) - duovir.
 T. ATILIUS RUFUS (5)
 AUR. OLYMPIADI (6) (Aur[elia] Olympias)
 AVIANIAE (7)
 ...NiaN[us] P.L. (8) ([P. Avianus P.L.] - Magister Augustalis
 Mercurialis.
 L. BOGIONIUS (9) - missicius
 M. CAEDIUS M.L. NICEPHOR (10) (M. Caedius, M.L. Nicephorus) -
 mercator.
 C. CAMURTIO APRO (11)
 L. CANINIO (12) - duovir, Aug[ustalis].
 Q. CEPPIO (13)
 Q. CEPPIO (14) - patronus.
 Q. CEPPIO CALLIMACHO (15)
 Q. CEPPIO LONGINO (16) - pon[tifex], duovir, designatus].
 P. CLAUDIUS (17) - duovir
 C. COMIN (18) (C. Comin[us]) - duovir.
 GN. CORN. (19) (G. Corn[elius])
 DICITIA CEMELLA (20)
 DIGITIAE RUFINAE (21)
 ...UINICI RUFO (22) - ([Dom]uincius Rufus) - duovir quinquennalis,
 patronus coloniae.
 DONNIA MAL. SECUNDA - (23)

1. C.I.L. 10, 477
2. C.I.L. 10, 477
3. I.R.N. 94
4. Eckhel, op. cit. 158
5. Orelli, Inscr. Lat. 2, 3078
6. C.I.L. 10, 489
7. C.I.L. 10, 479
8. C.I.L. 10, 485
9. Orelli, l.c.
10. C.I.L. 10, 487
11. C.I.L. 10, 490
12. Orelli, op. cit. 1, 2492.
13. C.I.L. 10, 491
14. Eph. Epi. 8, 288.
15. C.I.L. 10, 479.
16. C.I.L. 10, 479
17. C.I.L. 10, 480
18. Eckhel, l.c.
19. C.I.L. 10, 492
20. C.I.L. 10, 493
21. C.I.L. 10, 483
22. C.I.L. 10, 484
23. C.I.L. 10, 487

- EUTYCHIA (1)
 D. FAD. (2) (D. Fadi[us]) - pontifex
 AURELIO GENTIANO (3) - patronus
 HELPIDIO (4)
 LUCIA HERRIA (5)
 L. MARCI FIANI (L. Marcius Flavianus) - duovir. (6)
 M. MARCI ANTIOCH (M. Marcius Antioch[us])
 M. NANNEIO QUETIANO (8)
 Q. NUMONIO VALAE (9)
 OPPIUS SILVESTER (10)
 C. PEDULIO VERRUCANO (11)
 C. PETRONIO BASSO (12)
 C. PETRONIUS OPTATUS (13)
 L. PUL. (14) (L. Pul[lius])
 QUINTILIAE (15)
 L. RABILI (16) (L. Rabili[us])
 SALUSTIAE (17)
 A. SCALPONI PAQ. L. (18) (A. Scalponius Paqui L.)
 C. SEXSTILIUS (19) - duovir
 M. TUC. (20) (M. Tuc[cus]) - patronus
 TULLIO (21) - pistor
CICER (22) (M. Tullius Cicero) - eques Romanus,
 patronus coloniae
 M. TULLIUS CICERO (23) - p[atronus] c[oloniae], eques Romanus
 T. VENERIA (24)
 VINNIAE AMIANTIDI (25)
 VINNIUS AMIANTUS (26)

1. C.I.L. 10, 491
2. Eckhel, l.c.
3. C.I.L. 10, 476
4. C.I.L. 10, 478
5. C.I.L. 10, 500
6. Eckhel, l.c.
7. I.R.N. 99,
8. C.I.L. 10, 493
9. C.I.L. 10, 481
10. C.I.L. 10, 476; Eph. Epi. 8, 287.
11. Orelli, op. cit. I, 135/
12. C.I.L. 10, 494.
13. C.I.L. 10, 472; Not. degli Scavi (1889), 397; Eph. Epi. 8, 286.
14. Eckhel, op. cit. 158
15. C.I.L. 10, 495
16. C.I.L. 10, 475
17. C.I.L. 10, 496
18. C.I.L. 10, 497; Bull. dell. Inst. (1853) , 135
19. C.I.L. 10, 480
20. Eckhel, l.c.
21. C.I.L. 10, 499
22. C.I.L. 10, 482; Bull. dell. Inst. (1853), 133-135.
23. C.I.L. 10, 483.
24. C.I.L. 10, 498
25. C.I.L. 10, 500
26. C.I.L. 10, 500

VI - HISTORY OF EXCAVATIONS.

The ruins of Paestum were not carefully examined until about the middle of the seventeenth century. (1) The place must have been known to the immediate neighborhood, but the rest of Europe seems to have been unaware of it. Cluver, (2) who wrote his *Italia Antiqua* in 1624, mentions the ruins at Pesto, but ascribes no importance to them. Count Gazola in the service of Charles VII, king of Naples, probably was the first scholar to visit the site of ancient Paestum shortly before the middle of the seventeenth century.. Antonini (3) and Mazocchi (4) both describe the ruins in their works written in 1745 and 1754 respectively. Before the end of the century Paoli (5) and Magnoni (6) used Paestum and its remains as the theme of special treatises and people from all over Europe began to visit the place. Among them were Swinburne, (7) who wrote a very accurate description of the ruins, and Wilkins, (8) who set forth the architectural details.

A great many excavations were made in Paestum in the nineteenth century, by Padiglione and Nicolas in 1805, continued by the latter and Bamonte between the years 1818 and 1822. (9)

1. Bunbury, op. cit. 513; Holm, A History of Greece (1894), 302, 41.
2. Cluver, Italia Antiqua (1624), 1255.
3. Antonini, Topografia della Lucania (1745)
4. Mazocchi, Tab. Heracl. (1754), 499-515
5. Paoli, Paesti Rudera (1784)
6. Magnoni, De veris Paesti origg.
7. Swinburne, Travels, 2, 131-138
8. Wilkins, op. cit. 55-67
9. Bonucci, Bull. dell. Inst. (1834), 50 Bamonte, Ann. dell Inst. (1835), 187-188; Ruggiero, op. cit. 459-464

A greater interest seems to have been shown between 1828 and 1831 for many excavations were reported during that period. The principal excavators were Arcione, Bamonte, Bonucci, Bianchi, (1) Rauch, and Wolff, (2). Aside from the excavation of the temple of Peace by Bianchi, the discoveries were mostly of comparatively unimportant objects. From 1858 on through 1872 the work was kept up more or less steadily. (3) Puchstein and Koldwey made an expedition to Paestum in 1895 (4) and even up to the present time discoveries have been reported. (5) As far as we can tell from the accounts of the excavations the work has been done in a fairly systematic manner, the central part of the city receiving the most attention. (6)

1. Wolff, Bull. dell. Inst. (1830), 137; Bonucci, l.c.; Ruggiero, op. cit. 465-468.
2. Canina, Ann. Dell. Inst. (1835), 187-188.
3. Brunn, Bull. dell. Inst. (1863), 106. Helbig, Bull. dell. Inst. (1865), 95-96; Ruggiero, op. cit. 473-476.
4. Expedition of Koldwey & Puchstein, in Am. J. Arch. (1896), 274
5. Am. J. Arch. (1908), 105; della Corte, in Not. degli Scavi (1919), 268-269, in Am. J. Arch. 24 (1920), 97.
6. Ruggiero, op. cit. 459-476.

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